THE NEW REPUBLIC

VERMONT

The Hidden Movers

How shocked we were that a fine young man like Charles Van Doren could so abuse the public's trust, could cheat, could lie, could then try to cover up his deception, could attempt to justify himself by saying that he did it all for the greater glory of education. But Francis G. Powers, pilot of the US high-altitude jet shot down 1,200 miles inside the Soviet Union, has given the world a more shocking lesson, and it is that the Government of the United States has itself been deeply corrupted; it too has assumed that "anything goes"; it too has practiced Van Dorenism, only telling the truth when caught with the boodle. And Mr. Powers? He, like Mr. Van Doren, was only the agent; he did what they told him to do, what he was highly paid to do. He did not ask to be shot down, so that, for a moment, we might glimpse the hand that pulls the wires. And whose hand is it? High altitude flights over Soviet territory, it is now admitted, have long been standard operating procedure. For four years our planes have flown "along the frontiers of the Free World." And they have done so, it was explained from Washington on May 7, so that we can protect ourselves against surprise attack. But three days earlier, on May 4, the US Army published an analysis of Soviet military strategy in which it said, according to The New York Times, *that "the Russians were not undertaking to build the force needed to carry out a surprise attack." Is this then only the Army's opinion? What is the government's opinion? Or do the various services and agencies, including the Central Intelligence Agency, make their own assessments of Soviet intentions and capability and respond to those judgments in their own, differing ways? Now, it is no secret that nations spy on one another. The Russians* (Continued on page 3)

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

The Powers Story

★ Because at the moment of truth Francis G. Powers, 30, secret American espionage pilot, did not scratch himself with a suicide needle provided by the US Government, all our lives are changed. Because Powers did not kill himself Pakistan may protest violation of her borders and the Soviet Government may make representations to the UN. One nick of the inch-long poisoned needle would have left the world as it was, with no diminution of America's posture of superior moral virtue; there would have been no real reason for accepting the validity of Khrushchev's circus charges – save, perhaps, as an effort to place the blame for the prospective failure of the Summit conference 10 days away on the West.

Yes, yes, if only Powers had jabbed his arm or leg or hand, President Eisenhower would have been spared the greatest mortification ever inflicted on an American President abroad – the jocose first greeting of Nikita Khrushchev or, worse, his snickering silence.

Powers did not use the poison, and perhaps it is easier to tell the Washington sequel in simple first person. I followed events hour by hour because I had recklessly engaged to fill in for a friend on an esteemed British journal. On May 5 (Thursday) then, I, with other newsmen, read on the ticker bulletins of how Khrushchev had pranced before the Soviet parliament boasting of knocking down a US espionage plane. Instantly we all queried the State Department and began telling the world a lie – of a US "weather" plane whose unfortunate pilot had probably blacked out and strayed off course to his death – another victim of Communist atrocity.

High officials were undoubtedly sincere. They thought they were telling the truth. Chip Bohlen at the State Department, for example, gave the press an earnest, careful, off-the-record briefing of Khrushchev's probable motives. Almost certainly Eisenhower was deceived, too, when he hinted to AFL-CIO President Meany publicly that if Mr. K didn't mind his ways he might not go to Moscow after all.

Then on Saturday Khrushchev pranced out again, having waited for Washington to put its neck in a noose. Young Powers was alive and talking, he disclosed; knocked down by a "remarkable rocket" from six miles up, 850 miles east of Moscow. The poisoned needle? Here, it was – unused.

Like most other Washington reporters I try to do a responsible, conscientious job. Before breakfast Saturday morning I caught a top State Department man by telephone. What should I cable London?

"Off-the-record? Yes? – 'Utterly fantastic'!" came the angry response. "Take one technical point alone: the single-engine, U-2, has a range of only 2,500 miles – not 4,000 as Khrushchev's fantastic tale implies!"

Then the Confession

★ It was comforting to get this thumping denial even off-the-record. But sickening doubts grew. Hour by hour brought no formal confirming statement. Then came a new complication. Just as a week before in a provocative statement Eisenhower had said he would not wait at the Summit more than six days but would send Nixon, so now (of all times) at Gettysburg he announced that the US had decided unilaterally to resume underground nuclear testing.

Finally, at 6 p.m. the State Department pulled the plug and all the water ran out of the bath. The Soviets' charges, it said, were "probably" true. But Russia had made espionage necessary. And other sources, not Washington, had authorized the flight. . . .

Some weeks ago, in another connection, this column suggested that Caryl Chessman had to die, not because he was a kidnapper, not because he was a sex pervert, but because through 12 years' delay he had made the United States look foolish.

And so now in regard to Russia, almost instantly you could feel the anger harden; we hated them because we had been in the wrong and made a fool of. Immediately Senate opposition leader Lyndon Johnson telegraphed his support of the White House, and assistant Democratic Senate leader, Mike Mansfield, declared Eisenhower "blameless." You could hear patriotic music offstage.

Newsmen discovered, to their horror, that they had participated in a lie. They had believed what they had been told; so, presumably, had Eisenhower. Someone had sent Powers aloft, quite willing if he were downed (after he had demolished the plane and needled himself) to let America believe that Moscow was the real aggressor. Yes, even if war resulted the original lie would stand. (Suppose Powers had dropped a bomb and Moscow had retaliated – every American would have believed Moscow made the first attack.)

And Eisenhower was blameless. Secretary Herter explained to Congressmen that the President had merely delegated authority. He hands over these details to others. In Georgia he plays golf on a segregated golf course while Negro boys seek their rights a few miles away; while he prepares for the peaceful Summit he allows subordinates to send out warlike missions.

Congressmen at the briefing were urged by Herter to go easy on criticism because it might damage the President's prestige abroad and harm the negotiations.

Everybody's Doing It

★ There was little for the Administration to do, indeed, but brazen it out and acknowledge "extensive aerial surveillance." All nations do it – so what? This failed to explain the first elaborate alibis, the defusion of Administration responsibility and the disastrous timing of the flight that played into Mr. K's wily hands. It was amusing and educational, however, to see how easily Washington shifted from the earlier pose of superior moral virtue to the new chauvinistic attitude of cynicism. A young man with a poisoned needle took a realistic approach and failed to use it. A capital with pretensions to moral superiority, when the crisis came also took a realistic approach. So what?

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The Hidden Movers

I can learn much about the US without great hazard or difficulty, for most of this country is open to inspection: the Atlas missiles on Vandenberg Air Base can be seen from the Southern Pacific Railway; maps and books can be bought. But knowledge of the Soviet Union is harder to come by, and so the necessity has been accepted of photographic missions high above Soviet borders. The British have flown similar missions. Yet although 15 US planes have been involved in border incidents over the past 10 years, no British or other aircraft has been so involved. Why is that? Are Americans more inept? More daring? Or do we spy more than others, thus increasing the incidence of detection?

What this latest miscalculation may cost the US is becoming plain. The chances of an agreement on a cessation of nuclear testing have been hurt; new doubts have arisen in the minds of our allies and neutrals whether this country can be trusted with the terrifying tools of the nuclear age; we have been given a preview of the nightmare of a war being accidentally triggered by a blundering lieutenant; ammunition has been handed the uncompromising Communist cadre in the Soviet Union and in China which distrusts a relaxation of tensions.

Is the CIA at fault? If an Intelligence operation can get us into a war without anyone's wanting war and without the public's knowing how it came about, surely the question is not indiscreet. Official spokesmen have said that the Powers flight was not authorized by Washington, that the order was given "in the field." Is that also a lie? If not, where was the order given? By whom? Hanson W. Baldwin accepts Mr. Khrushchev's explanation, and says that the "U-2 project was a Central Intelligence Agency effort, and a very successful one. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration and the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation were probably so-called cover agencies." But surely then, these fly-overs were known to Allen Dulles and had been cleared by him with the National Security Council and the President. Or does CIA delegate authority to initiate operations that may be incendiary in their effects?

We speak of our free society. It is not free if the people are committed to actions which conflict with our stated diplomatic aims, though having no knowledge of these actions, no control over them and no way of knowing who is to blame when mistakes are made. That is the way totalitarian societies work, and that is one reason why they are unreliable custodians of the peace. The levers of power are in the hands of a few, and those few are only remotely accountable to the people.

Allen Dulles has handled his assignment competently, reconciling, insofar as possible, the contrary needs for secrecy and for some sort

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of accounting to the President and the Congress. But when the intelligence-gathering can directly and perhaps decisively influence the relations between nations, the competence of CIA's director is not the issue. Four years ago, Senator Mansfield said: "Allen Dulles may make no mistakes in assessing intelligence, but he should not be the lone judge in matters which have to do with the initiative of other nations with respect to war and peace." At that time, the Congress was reluctant to assume greater responsibility for how CIA spends its secret and unaccounted-for funds. The Senate, on April 11, 1956, rejected Senator Mansfield's proposal for a joint Congressional committee to review the activities of CIA and other foreign intelligence operations conducted by the US Government.

The Congress may now wish to reconsider the advisability of a "watch-dog" committee. But whether it does or not, one thing should be understood. The President in this instance is not blameless. It is he who is responsible for the conduct of our foreign affairs, and that includes responsibility for what is done by the secret agents of this government abroad. If he is ignorant of what is being done, he is no less responsible. If no clear policy has been set by the President for the conduct of CIA, he is responsible. If policy has been set and violated, he is still responsible.

Emptying Bread Basket

The "nation's bread basket" is emptying out as it has not done since the dark days of the 30's when just about every third farm family packed up and headed West. A former auctioneer in the Great Plains is quoted as saying he regrets having left his trade, for it is now flourishing: "They don't call them foreclosures anymore; they are officially called dispersal or disposal sales, but actually they represent the common plight of small farmers, undercapitalized or underlanded, who are having to pull up stakes and try to make a new start in the town or city."

Since there is about to be a Summit meeting on international problems, and another top-level conference is to be held soon between US management and labor, why not a "summit conference" on farming? That question has just been put to Mr. Eisenhower by James G. Patton, president of the National Farmers Union. Mr. Patton's proposal will be officially ignored save for the chilliest of acknowledgments, for he is considered by the White House and Mr. Benson to be a most rude and unpleasant person, and a D-m-c-t to boot. And the general counsel of his organization is Charles Brannan, sponsor of the Brannan plan of 11 years ago, whose name all good Republican farm advisers use as a synonym for all that's unholy. Moreover, the President last week said this was none of his affair: "Surely it is time," he said, "*for the Congress* [italics added] to face up to the admittedly difficult problems of agriculture."

Nonetheless, the facts cited in Mr. Patton's letter to the President must be faced. Net farm income is 30 percent under that of 1953; farm prices are only about 80 percent of parity or the break-even point; 100,000 farm families are leaving the land yearly; the average per capita income on the farm is about half that of the city dweller. As Mr. Patton concludes: Agriculture is being "put through a gigantic wringer, yet farmers are still being blamed for rising food costs."

Farm programs that are based on reducing farm output have been given a long, thorough and expensive trial over the past quarter-century. What they have proved is that the application of modern techniques to farming permits an increase in productivity per acre at rates which exceed the possible withdrawal of acreage from cultivation under crop control measures. A new and basic approach to the farm surplus problem would accept high production, and devise ways of getting it to destinations where it could be used. Versatility and money will be needed, though probably not as much money as current farm programs have cost.

No sensible reappraisal of the farm program will be made during the last months of this Administration, and the pressures of the farm lobbies will make it extremely difficult for a new Administration to break with the past. But when the break comes, it will take the form of supporting farmers' income rather than supporting prices tied to hoped-for decreases in production. And it will channel far more of our agricultural output into raising living standards of the lowest third of this nation, and far more to the underfed abroad.

Turkey: One Step Backward

In Istanbul, the Council of NATO concerted its Summit policy – behind a row of tanks. The meeting was held without its would-be host, Prime Minister Adnan Menderes. He was detained in Ankara by a so-called student revolt, but not one of the streetcar-burning kind familiar in Cairo. The students of Ankara and Istanbul and Smyrna have a grievance – as had the students of South Korea – which runs deep into most sectors of the urban population. They feel stifled.

Till not so long ago, Turkey was the only country in the world that had switched from dictatorship to democracy by a process of reasoning and consent. Having thus qualified for the democratic ticket, it was welcomed into NATO and the Council of Europe. As a democracy, Turkey received $600 million in economic aid from the US between 1945 and 1958 – more, that is, than any country in the Middle East. Our reason for

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doing so much was that we appreciated Turkey's immunity from Communism and approved of the pattern of Turkish politics. Genuinely democratic elections, supervised by the judiciary, were held in 1950 and did the outgoing Kemalist party (the Republic People's Party) credit, for it accepted without demur an overwhelming opposition (Democrat) victory. Among the reasons for the change was the human one that the RPP had had things its own way for too long, and the practical one that the peasant vote went to the Democrats

Among Turkey's allies, disquiet set in only in 1957, when the Democrats railroaded the elections and were returned to power with another big majority which the RPP from the start refused to recognize as genuine. Mr. Menderes, backed by President Bayar, went ahead in the sincere conviction that only his party is equipped to see the economic program through; but the form his conviction took was to put a lid on all criticism. Hence the prison sentences for liberal journalists such as Ahmet Emin Yalman, which liberals all over the world have protested.

The crux came when ex-President Inonu, the old warrior who heads the RPP and is one of the survivors of Ataturk's old guard as well as the hero of a great battle in the War of Independence (1923), set off to stump rural Anatolia in the interests of the RPP. The government ordered the army to bar his way. Inonu is a soldier and as such a formidable opponent among a martial people, but the army obeyed orders and turned him back. Consternation followed; several officers resigned their commissions. Next, in order to check what Mr. Menderes calls "subversive and illegal activities," the big Democratic majority in Parliament voted into being a commission of 15 of its members, with powers to override the judiciary. It can, and has, banned press criticism and forbidden all political activity for three months. The riots followed.

Much hangs on which side the army takes if the contest continues. Being a conscript force, its rank and file are the students' brothers and contemporaries; its standing cadre of officers seems loyal to the government. Paradoxically, an army which had no time for politics while the Cold War was at its coldest can be spared for other purposes once the ice begins to melt. Mr. Menderes, who unjustifiably complains that America pays neutrals better than it pays its friends, plans to visit Moscow this summer.

The Turks say that the RPP can bide its time and hang on until the next elections. But will there be elections? The normal pattern in the less mature states of Asia and Africa is military dictatorship, as in Egypt, the Sudan, Iraq and even Pakistan. If Turkey were to feel the weight of Soviet pressure, its warring parties would at once make common cause. But if peace breaks out, and the domestic quarrel remains uppermost in all minds, will it turn over to army rule? Turks are sturdy, not volatile; they are mature in that they knew how to run an empire; they do not change courses lightly. If elections take place, and they are worth watching for, it is likely that a majority will want to go on qualifying as a European democracy.

Access to the Suez Canal

"You never know what the Senate will do," Foreign Relations Chairman J. William Fulbright remarked to a questioning TV panel last weekend. "Why, I nearly fell off my chair at what happened Thursday." He was referring to the 45-25 vote in favor of withholding US economic aid from Colonel Nasser's United Arab Republic unless he opens the Suez Canal to Israeli shipping. The amendment to this effect sponsored by Paul Douglas (D, Ill.), Kenneth Keating (R, N.Y.) and 28 other Senators was attached to the foreign aid bill as a rider over Fulbright's pleas that it would upset "one of the most delicate and explosive situations in the world." The vote was a test, he declared, between the best interests of US foreign policy and a pro-Israel "pressure group." The amendment, Fulbright charged, was "obviously designed for local political advantages. . . ."

Certainly it would be hard to find among the 45 favoring the rider any Senator who stood to suffer political *dis*advantage from doing so. But it was false and unfair for Fulbright and Acting Secretary of State Dillon – who joined Fulbright in urging the Senate to reconsider – to leave the impression that the action was a simple show of partiality for Israel over the Arabs.

Many Senators are partial to Israel, but most of them in this case, as they emphasized during the debate, were also concerned with "honoring international commitments in connection with transit through the Suez."

When British troops were withdrawn and Egypt nationalized the Canal in 1956, one of six principles to which Colonel Nasser agreed was the right of free transit by all nations. In subsequent efforts to persuade Israel to withdraw from the Sinai peninsula, US spokesmen privately promised to guarantee her access to the Canal. President Eisenhower underlined both these legal and moral commitments in his radio-TV address to the nation of February 20, 1957: "Egypt by accepting the six principles adopted by the Security Council last October in relation to the Suez Canal, bound itself to free and open transit through the Canal without discrimination and to the principle that the operation of the Canal should be insulated from the politics of any country. We should not assume that, if Israel withdraws, Egypt will prevent Israeli shipping from using the Suez Canal or the Gulf of Aqaba. If, unhappily, Egypt does hereafter violate the Armistice

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Agreement or other international obligations, then this should be dealt with firmly by the society of nations."

The Douglas-Keating amendment was therefore entirely consistent with previously stated US and UN positions. But Senator Fulbright was correct when he said during the April 29 debate: "I do not think anybody in this body . . . does not desire that the Suez Canal be opened for all shipping, including Israeli shipping; *but I submit this is not the right way to do it.*" (Italics ours.)

Attaching riders to appropriation bills is no way to conduct foreign policy, for if this became accepted procedure the invitation to pressure groups to take over the President's Constitutional responsibility to conduct foreign policy would be irresistible. And the wheeling and dealing to line up votes to "Unleash Chiang Kai-shek," "Free Northern Ireland," and "Repatriate the Rumanians" would make a hash of our foreign relations as well as distract Congress from its proper business.

The Methodists Stay United

After a week of intellectual and spiritual travail at its quadrennial national conference in Denver, the Methodist Episcopal Church, America's most numerous Protestant sect with 10 million members, continued its snail-pace progress toward racial integration within the church. Delegates refused to penalize Southern Methodist colleges that exclude Negro students, or to eliminate the church's Central Jurisdiction, in which more than nine-tenths of its Negro members belong to all-Negro congregations.

The Methodists know from sad experience over 150 years the enormous difficulties of advancing "with all deliberate speed." John Wesley's early adherents in America were mostly in the South, and for many years accepted slavery as compatible with their creed. But the abolitionist faction gradually gained strength, and indeed some abolitionists split off early, and formed the Wesleyan Methodist Church which still exists.

The schism came to a head in the 1840's. Bishop James C. Andrew of Georgia had inherited slaves, and under state law could not divest himself of them. The opponents of slavery, by then dominant, asked him "affectionately" in 1844 to resign. He did so; the Southerners withdrew, and in 1845 formed the M. E. Church South. Thereafter, until 1939, the two great Methodist denominations practiced apartheid. Methodists in blue fought Methodists in gray during the Civil War; the amalgamation of the two branches of the church in 1939 (plus the Methodist Protestant church) was largely on Southern terms and included an awkward intra-church arrangement which perpetuates segregation.

Under it there are five geographical jurisdictions of the church, and one "Central" jurisdiction, which is pseudonymous for Negro. Of the church's 400,000 Negro members, only about 30,000 belong to non-segregated congregations; the rest are in the congregations of the Central jurisdiction. And since the jurisdictions are co-equal, this gives the Negroes a more powerful voice in church affairs than their numbers entitle them to. Also, as was pointed out by a commission named at the 1956 quadrennial conference, since many Southern white congregations refuse to desegregate, abolition of the Central conference in an attempt to absorb all Negro members into the general body of the church would leave many Negro congregations homeless within Methodism. Moreover, Southerners reminded their brethren at Denver, reluctance to integrate is by no means confined to the South, or to one race. Segregated congregations exist side by side in many Northern communities.

A small but vocal Southern representation in effect threatened the church with a new secession, should integration prevail. Southern state legislatures have adopted laws which permit local congregations by a two-thirds vote to sever relations with a communion – and to take their local property with them. Bills to the same effect are pending in other states.

What was the General Conference to do? Its delegates did the human thing. Their hearts and tongues spoke for equality in brotherhood under Christ, but their heads cautioned against any action which might again split the church. They voted down a target date for integration and adopted only the small changes recommended by their commission. To the question of a Negro delegate – "We are ready, but are you?" – they could only answer, "Not yet."

Grain in India

The $1.276 billion worth of grain which is to go to India under an agreement signed last week – $538 million as a grant – buys time. Over the four years covered by the transaction, New Delhi can count on food reserves against any emergency and thus on a measure of price stability in the most politically-sensitive area of the economy. And this in turn gives the Nehru government what may be its last chance to increase food production at a rate equal to the population rise.

Initially, PL 480 agreements with India provided that the US have ownership of the rupees received in payment for agricultural surpluses and then re-loan some of them to India for development purposes. (Some also went to US businessmen operating in India.) But the Indians have known very well that our government does not know what to do with its excess grain; we appeared to be driving an unnecessarily hard bargain.

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Moreover, the huge accumulations of rupees by the US have aroused nationalist anxieties in India. The prospect that Washington might in time possess almost as many rupees as the Indian Government has led to a progressive shift in the direction of a grant program. Under the PL 480 agreement of last November the US agreed to return as grants up to 40 percent of the rupees covered by the agreement. However, these grants were to be applied solely to health and education projects, not to economic development. Now, under the latest agreement, the US is to give India 42.5 percent of the sum received in payment for its surpluses as a grant (the rupee equivalent of $538 million), and the rupees can be applied to projects in any field of Indian development. As in the Marshall Plan, which also gave recipient governments title to "counterpart funds" arising out of US aid, how the funds are used will be decided by consultation between the two governments.

Vast new rupee funds can now go into a long-term attack on India's low agricultural productivity, thereby helping eliminate the necessity for a continuing US food subsidy. Fertilizer plants and storage facilities are to be constructed on a grand scale. Though the US should further liberalize the 42.5 percent grant provision, the obligation to make good now rests with Indian leaders. Theirs is the political and administrative challenge of translating bold plans into results; and as Sir Oliver Franks has noted in his report to the World Bank, one cannot assume on the basis of present performance in agriculture that the Indians are up to the challenge.

The Summit Agenda

Conversations with a High Administration Source enables us to publish the following unofficial and unattributable explanation of why there will be a Summit conference, the position of our government and prospects for agreement.

Q. May I ask, will Berlin be discussed? What is our position?
A. Our position, as Mr. Dillon said, is that the issue of Berlin may involve "the issue of war and peace."
Q. So the Berlin problem will have to be solved or else?
A. It can't be solved. De Gaulle is against solving it; so is Adenauer, so is Eisenhower. It must be unsolved.
Q. Then we will have war?
A. War is unthinkable. On the contrary, tension will be relaxed.
Q. If tension is relaxed, can we disarm?
A. We cannot disarm unless there is foolproof inspection and control.
Q. Will the Russians accept this?
A. Never.

"In times of crisis, the newspapers are first with the cry: 'Let the people know the facts!' But perhaps Fact is a deity invoked by the people only in the last emergency when the easy gods of peace have failed them."

- Dorothy L. Sayers, 1941

"Hi, Everybody – What's Cooking?"

President Eisenhower suggested today an informed electorate was more important than party loyalty to a proper solution of issues confronting the nation. . . . The President described those [not so well informed] as "going along in a sort of cloud, believing that one party has all the virtues and the other none, particularly if registering and taking part in political action interferes with their golf or their shooting or any other recreation." – *New York Times*, Jan. 26, 1960

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President Eisenhower had hoped to helicopter to Gettysburg to cast his ballot today but found his schedule too tight. At the last minute, however, he did manage to squeeze in a round of golf.

– *Edward P Morgan*
ABC Network, April 26, 1960

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Percent of Eligible Civilian Population Voting in Presidential Elections

Italy (1953)	93.4 percent
Canada (1953)	67.9 percent
Japan (1953)	74.2 percent
Great Britain (1955)	76.8 percent
Israel (1955)	82.8 percent
Germany (1957)	88.2 percent
USA (1956)	60.4 percent

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Q. Why are we insisting on it then?
A. Consider the propaganda advantage.
Q. You mean our stand will make a favorable impression abroad?
A. How can it? People know Khrushchev will not agree to it.
Q. Where then is the propaganda advantage?
A. It is the *counter*-propaganda advantage we are seeking against his disarmament proposal.
Q. You mean Khrushchev really scored when he proposed total disarmament?
A. Of course not. The whole world sees through his transparent maneuver.
Q. Good. Tell me, what other topic will be discussed at the Paris conference?
A. The use of force. It will be renounced as a means of settling international disputes.
Q. Wasn't that done at Camp David?
A. It will be done again.
Q. What will be the effect?
A. The world will be reassured.
Q. By our renunciation of force?
A. Nonsense. The world knows we don't resort to force.
Q. By their renunciation of force, then?
A. No sir! They have broken every agreement.
Q. Off the record, is there still any chance of banning nuclear testing at the Summit?
A. Big tests.
Q. Why just big tests?
A. Because those are the ones we and the Russians have already made.
Q. Any chance of small tests being banned?
A. Only if there is a relaxation of tension.
Q. And will there be a relaxation of tension?
A. Only if tests are banned.
Q. And how can that be done?
A. By persuading the Russians to accept our proposals.
Q. Will they?
A. No. Their positions are frozen.
Q. And ours?
A. Frozen too.
Q. So the talks will fail?
A. No, there will be agreement.
Q. On what?
A. On holding further talks.
Q. Mr. Spokesman, what do the Russians really want?
A. They want to bury us. As Mr. Dillon said: "Even as they enunciate their doctrine [of peaceful coexistence] they proclaim in the same breath that the Communist system will ultimately absorb all other societies."
Q. Why do we meet with people who want to bury us?
A. Because we hope to bury them. As Mr. Dillon said: "We are confident that our society and principles represent the revolutionary dynamic of freedom that must ultimately prevail."
Q. But why are we meeting with them *now*? I mean after Khrushchev calling Nixon a goat.
A. Khrushchev wanted the meeting. It gives him prestige inside and outside of the Soviet Union.
Q. Does it give us prestige too?
A. Well, how could it?
Q. But if he still wants a meeting, why does he shoot down our plane and make all those tough speeches?
A. To show that he is not soft on capitalism.
Q. Haven't we lost face by the plane incident?
A. On the contrary, it shows the world that we are sincere when we demand "open skies."
Q. So our position has been strengthened?
A. Not really, the benefits of such an incident are slow to accrue.
Q. One last question. Does Khrushchev want war?
A. War is what he wants to avoid most.
Q. Why does he want peace?
A. To build up his country. Overtake us economically.
Q. Will he do it?
A. Nobody can overtake free men in a free economy.
Q. Why is that?
A. Because they produce more and so they have more to give away. As the President said last week, our foreign aid program "helped rescue Turkey from economic collapse, restoring this critical area as a bastion of freedom."
Q. Are there other bastions?
A. Yes. The President said: "In Asia – under SEATO and other military ties, a million soldiers stand as a bulwark of liberty."
Q. Anywhere else?
A. Yes. In South America, the President "witnessed their abiding faith in the greatness and goodness of America and their love and respect for this land of the free."
Q. So we will win out?
A. If it weren't for our armament burden. Once the dollar goes, everything goes.
Q. Well, so, what will the Paris meeting bring then?
A. Let me sum up. The Russians, bent on world domination which they cannot attain, and desirous of burying the free world which they cannot do, and finally, trying to impress the world with disarmament propaganda which nobody buys, and still more finally, ready to renounce force – an agreement which they will break – must, at Paris, be made to perform the deeds which they will not perform, so that the United States can finally place in them the trust which they do not deserve. They must be made to disarm so that we can disarm. Then, freed from the burden of armament, we can win the economic race against them by letting free enterprise show what it can do. Peace must be preserved in the face of the fact that nobody wants war. In the pursuit of these objectives, time will be gained – I mean spent – and as the amount of time is roughly the same in both hemispheres, the best man will win.

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Competition from Peking

To Asian exporting countries such as India and Japan, which see the possibility of valuable customers turning to the newcomers, and to Western businessmen plugging the relatively high-priced wares of Detroit, Manchester and Cologne, the news out of China is again extremely bad: Peking appears to be about to launch a new trade drive in Southeast Asia. Two-and-a-half years ago, when China first exhibited a serious interest in the Southeast Asian markets, there was gloom in Delhi and Tokyo. The view of India's *Eastern Economist* was that "China has made such great strides in building up her economy that she is in a position not only to penetrate every Asian market but also to oust from these markets the long established and traditional suppliers, Western as well as Eastern, including powerful countries like Japan, let alone this country." The Japanese were no less pessimistic.

Viewed over a period of years and expressed in its preferred medium – percentages – China's export trade increase has been startling. Between the 1950 base year and 1958 its exports soared by nearly 300 percent. Sales to Burma between 1953 and 1958 were up by 1,500 percent, to Indonesia by 1,400 percent and to India by 900 percent. At the beginning of last year, however, when the export drive appeared to be about to move into high gear, it suddenly collapsed. Ships calling at Chinese mainland ports found that there were no goods offered for export. The record sales of $556 million in 1958 fell away to almost nothing.

There were three reasons for this decline: The establishment of the commune system in rural China created confusion in production and commodity distribution; the emphasis on backyard blast furnaces resulted in the production of several millions of tons of almost worthless steel which caused transport bottlenecks and could not be used in manufacture; and Peking's commitments within the Communist *bloc* consumed large quantities of goods that would otherwise have been available for export to South and Southeast Asia.

Although for ideological reasons Peking may be expected to give the highest priority to trade within the *bloc*, there is accumulating evidence that once again China has a substantial quantity of goods for sale on the Asian market. Exports have leaped to Burma, Ceylon and Hong Kong, and the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs warns that the full impact of the new drive may begin to be felt about July or August.

Opinions differ about the seriousness of this Chinese competition. China's methods of doing business won it few friends in the past. Its efforts to use its trade with Japan as a means of exerting political pressures there did nothing to encourage many Southeast Asians. Nor was it politic when it cancelled all trade with Malaya because Malaya sought to protect its own infant textile industry by restricting Chinese imports.

If Peking reckoned that Malaya needed China's custom so badly in the rubber market that it could be quickly brought to heel, it reckoned incorrectly. Malayans figured that China needed rubber and that if it bought anywhere in Southeast Asia general prices would be maintained and Malaya, in the long run, would not suffer. Its own retaliatory action in closing down the Bank of China must have angered Peking as much as it encouraged the Thais, who for months had been fearful that the Chinese were preparing to dump rice on the world market, and now, taking their lead from Malaya, moved to prohibit the dumping of Chinese consumer goods in Bangkok.

Again, while China's barter trade of rice for rubber appears to have worked to the mutual satisfaction of both parties in Ceylon, Burma (having burned its fingers long ago) does not now care for this type of trade, which Peking, with insufficient supplies of gold and foreign exchange to pay for substantial trade purchases abroad, prefers. Add to these factors the unfavorable political climate created by China's actions in Tibet, its border quarrels with India, the quite remarkably bitter differences that have developed with Indonesia over Djakarta's ban on rural retailer traders and the question then arises: Is the current drive likely to prove serious? Since the volume of trade even at the peak of the last drive was comparatively small and China's principal commitments lie elsewhere, is there any cause for alarm in Southeast Asia, in India, or Japan, or elsewhere? After all, at no time has China claimed more than five percent of the total Asian trade.

The answer is that concern for future trading prospects of other exporting countries to the Southeast Asian region does seem justified. Take Japan's position *vis-à-vis* Hong Kong: In 1953 it supplied Hong Kong with 32 percent of the Colony's imports of unbleached cotton, while imports from China were negligible. By 1957 China had captured 84 percent of the trade and Japan's contribution had fallen to 2 percent. On the Indian market, China, in 1958, outsold Japan in industrial machinery. In Indonesia this same year China's

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sales of tool steel, cotton fabrics and caustic soda doubled those of Japan.

Initially, China competed only in textiles and the more traditional Chinese exports such as rice, soya beans, oils, fats and mineral products. By 1958 it offered an impressive array of manufactured goods that provided direct competition not only with Japan and India, the United States and Western Europe but with the Soviet Union and Eastern European satellites, also. The Canton Export Commodity Exhibition offered 20,000 different items, including trucks, buses, motor tricycles and motorcycles. Even before the Canton exhibition, however, Southeast Asia had become familiar with a remarkable range of Chinese consumer goods, including watches, clocks, radio sets, sporting and toilet goods, canned foods (peas, beans, oranges and canned chicken), roofing tiles and manufactured metal products, including steel nails and screws and even steel bars used in reinforcing concrete.

The United Kingdom, West Germany, the Soviet Union (which is a large exporter of textiles to Southeast Asia) and the European satellites will all suffer from Chinese competition: but it is to India and Japan that we must look for the more serious side-effects. The probability is that out of India and Japan, India will suffer most. Its export orientation is toward Southeast Asia, while increasingly Japan, though with many lingering glances at what Japanese continue to regard as their rightful cornucopia, is turning toward the United States. India is developing more slowly than China but in the same fields of industry, while Japan, with its much more highly developed industrial complex, is tending to move away from light consumer goods and cotton textiles into a more sophisticated bracket of industrial production, into synthetics and away from cottons, into engineering, iron and steel and chemicals.

If nothing more than trade were involved, Japan's subordination in the Southeast Asian markets in the face of Chinese competition might not seriously concern either Japan or Southeast Asia: nor is India's trade with the area such that the Third Five-Year Plan will be crippled by falling revenue for Singapore and Hong Kong sales. In the Communist view, however, trade is not merely a means to an economic end but a handy ideological tool: in China's case the solidarity of the bloc has primacy, but there are fences to be mended in Southeast Asia and trade offers the chance to do the job.

DENIS WARNER

The Future of America

by Elman R. Service

The future of the United States may be analogous to the "decline and fall" of others earlier, in the classic period of the Mediterranean world. But the word "fall" has unfortunate connotations. We need not be exterminated, or even overrun as was Rome. Perhaps we might hope to comport ourselves like the Greeks after Rome became dominant: to become an aristocratic people, austere and unimpressed by the mere wealth of the *nouveaux riches*, full of wisdom, the teachers and models of ethics, scientific reasoning, and dignified manners. This may seem a ridiculous fantasy, but after all, as Kroeber has shown, the full flowering of the arts and sciences typically follows a civilization's economic and political decline. Old proper Boston families are well-eclipsed in wealth and power by a great many Texans today but which are considered the more cultured?

In the absence of general war, which is the only basis of calculation we can choose, the future is not necessarily so dismal as the word "fall" would imply. Falling behind some other continent is a relative state and need not imply even a standard of living lower than the present. However this may be, peace is necessary. As things stand now, our policies are ineffectual and much of the presently non-industrialized world fears, hates, or at best distrusts the West, and particularly the USA. Can anything be salvaged? Could we not face the future at least with some dignity if not equanimity?

The world today can be described from an American's point of view only as one of present disruptions and impending catastrophes. Only a few years ago America's position was secure and the rest of the world, to the extent we perceived it at all, needed no intervention or even advice from us. If one of the troubles with the world was that "there are so many foreigners in it," this irritation could be expected to diminish with the progress and enlightenment which would lead the foreigners to become more like ourselves. But now the world appears to have been made revolutionary by Communists. If Communists can be successfully combatted or at least "contained," then things will right themselves. This seems to be the political wisdom of the day. But obviously something is wrong, for it is

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more than apparent that we have not contained anything. The point is, the Western nations have failed completely to comprehend the nature of the evolution and spread of industrial civilization.

Causes of the "Revolution"

The "revolution" people worry so much about today is caused by the same industrialization that we know so well as the cause of our own transformation. But if it is the same one then why are the effects so different? Why is it so disruptive? Why does it result in so much aggression, and particularly why does it seem to create dictatorship and tyranny, at least in Russia and China, when it previously caused democracy to flourish in the Western world? Is it not some extra factor such as the teachings of Karl Marx or Lenin (or *somebody!*), or that all dictators are by definition "mad" and out to conquer the world?

It is the same industrial evolution, but there are some profound differences in the modern consequences of it. In some respects exactly opposite effects are created by the *evolution* of an industrial system in the area of its birth as opposed to its *propagation* in a new land.

First, the new areas cannot industrialize with small beginnings, as did the West, and then proceed through the original stages of growth, creating capital in the process. They will begin with the latest and most advanced of the known technologies and attempt to create the complete industrial complex at once, skipping whole epochs of our development. This requires a huge capital investment. The economy, therefore, must be socialistic; the government rather than private persons provides most of the capital by necessity. It also means that if capital is not otherwise available to the government it must be extracted from the subsistence-oriented peasantry, as happened first in Russia and is now happening in China. The significance of this situation is that the extraction of capital must be forced. This is the most important *internal* cause of the police state, of despotic government.

The second reversal of the Western industrial experience is that new areas such as Russia and now China (and tomorrow perhaps India, Indonesia, Africa and South America) have been forced to begin their industrialization in the face of challenge and opposition from outside powers. This is the *external* cause of the rise of the police state and of its attitude of belligerence toward the Western world. The dominance of the West was broken by force and the East is not about to back down. Tyranny, dictatorships, aggressive military attitudes, and so on, have causes, external and internal, and by recognizing them we may formulate a policy which could mitigate them and reduce the probability of future violence and war in the continuing industrialization of the One World of the future.

It is uncommon in the USA to think of modern dictatorship as having causes. Ordinarily, we think of *democracy* as being caused – by our Wise Forefathers, by Education, by the Protestant Ethic, or by Great Writers or Leaders – whereas dictatorships arise spontaneously if the citizenry relaxes its vigilance, or if it is uneducated, or if its national character remains "authoritarian," or if politics remains confounded with "personalism," and so on. But the view of the eminent political scientist Franz Neumann (1950) that a state is as "strong" (as coercive) *as it needs to be*, that it responds to threatening circumstances, is much more useful.

It is interesting that in some contexts the average American does accept this scientific view, however contradictory it is to the usual and more general feeling. McCarthyism was excused by many because they believed that there was danger, a need for greater intervention by the state into the private lives of its citizens. Even more common is the reply given when a foreigner cites the anti-democratic practices of whites with respect to Negroes in the USA. The American describes the historical circumstances in the Deep South, or says that the presence of Negroes makes land values fall in the suburbs in the North, and so on. He gives *causes* for this lack of freedom.

The third reversal of the Western industrial evolution is that of the sequential order of culture change. As noted, the West began with a gradual technological development and its "revolution" was the disorder involved in the subsequent adaptive changes in the social, political, and ideological aspects of culture. . . . However, as Western civilization has spread and influenced more primitive areas, the experience there is frequently the opposite. The ideology comes to them first, often in the absence of any technological change. Thus we speak, nowadays, of the "war for men's minds," as though the future of the world, and particularly of the USA, depended on the outcome of the ideological struggle between East and West.

There are certain characteristics of modern times that have tended to increase the significance of ideas in world affairs. One is, of course, the increased range and intensity of communication between cultural systems. Another is that the partial dominance of the advanced industrial powers over the others has typically fostered in the latter the acceptance of many of the ideas and values of the West. In earlier times, dominant colonial powers directly impeded the spread of advanced technology to their colonies, and to some extent this is still true of the West's policies. In any case, the scale of the technology is now so great, its composition so complex,

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and the required capital so large that it cannot be readily borrowed except as ideas and plans. Thus we have in many quarters of the globe a new and prevalent ideology and sometimes the political forms receptive to, even demanding, the technology that belongs with it.

In Ghana we find, for example, a modern political system with its appropriate ideology, but without the industrial foundation. This new society cannot evolve suspended like an air plant and it and the rest of Africa knows this. The struggle by the West to preserve its world dominance is in some very significant respects a war for men's minds, but the final success of the new nations will depend on the support of the ideological and political aspects of the imported culture by the appropriate economic and technological foundations.

Perhaps the most striking of the ideological components of Western civilization that has been accepted, at least in part, by the non-industrialized nations is that of science, and particularly medical science and practices. Medical science followed the industrial evolution of the West and the increases in productivity kept pace with the expansion of population that medical knowledge caused. But now we witness inverse cultural lag in other areas; medical knowledge is creating a completely unprecedented rise in the favorable birth-death ratio, largely in the areas which already have the greatest pressure of population on resources. At the present rate of increase the earth's population will be doubled by the year 2,000; in only four decades the human race could increase by the amount it has taken one million years of cultural evolution to accomplish! The countries undergoing this transformation need to increase production tremendously. Some, such as China, are apparently determined to do it at all costs, *as they must.* Other areas may be expected to face this reality soon if they have not already.

The industrialization of Russia and the present attempts of China should be recognized as forced-draft processes; they began and continue to industrialize in the face of the West's attempted dominance, and because of lack of capital they are forced to terrorize many of their own people. This internal despotism and the external aggressive (and defensive) military attitudes are the characteristics which most distinguish modern Communism from a more ideally conceived, more democratic socialism.

Industrializing the World

The development of industry in the West, with the mass education and the economic and social mobility which economic progress creates, fostered a new kind of personal freedom and equality. It could elsewhere too. The democracy that is possible may not involve the freedom for individuals to own giant industries; most of the new areas will be socialistically industrialized in large part, for the basic capital will be manipulated by their governments. But in the absence of opposition from the West and with basic capital lent, given, or otherwise provided, a non-tyrannical industrialization is possible.

Communism is neither the cause of what is happening to the world today nor the cause of the West's deteriorating position. The prior industrial evolution of the West is the cause and Communism is one of its earliest results. As Barbara Ward, a British political economist specializing in underdeveloped areas, put it (1959:58): "The Western powers themselves launched every one of the world's contemporary revolutions. They carried them across the oceans and around the world. They set in motion the vast forces of contemporary change and in doing so never doubted that what they did was of profound concern to the entire human race. Yet today, wealthy, complacent, unimaginative, they appear indifferent to the stirring, protean world of change and revolution in which three quarters of the human race is struggling for the forms of a new life. There is not a single Western initiative that embraces change, not one idea or policy for which the sustained Western dedication is forthcoming. In our contemporary world, in short, the idealists of the West appear to think of nothing beyond their material interests, while the materialists of the East seek to remake the face of the earth by the force of their ideas."

It must be apparent by now that I am suggesting a policy that will aid as much and as rapidly as possible, rather than continue to impede, the industrialization of the rest of the world. And I mean *the rest of the world,* not merely small portions of it selected for their political compliance or strategic location. But some of the backward areas will probably move beyond us. Is this not a paradox? Would not aiding them in this be something like digging our own grave?

It is not digging our own grave to abolish the causes of strife, despotism, and militarism, but the only way to save ourselves and the world at the same time, for we and the world are in this crisis indivisible. It would be a policy for *us* at the same time it is a policy for the non-industrialized nations. To cease our opposition and our unworkable containment policy would certainly lessen world tensions. Then the next great need is capital for the new industrialization . . . To abolish tariffs and quotas against the exports of the typical products of non-industrialized areas – raw materials and metals, unprocessed food and cheap textiles, for example – is one obvious way to begin. International monetary funds, but on a scale not even visualized today, should be next. If we *share,* in the interests of the whole human race, we win; that is, democracy and humanity win as the internal and external causes of conflict and tyranny are abolished. If we do not, we are trifling stupidly and unconscionably with our chances for survival.

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WIRETAPPING

Lawlessness in Law Enforcement

by Louis H. Pollak

"The widest inquiry into the shortcomings of the administration of justice, which the President enjoined upon this commission, necessarily involves the duty of investigating the justice of complaints, often made, that in their zeal to accomplish results Government officials themselves frequently lose sight of the fact that they are servants of the law, subject to its mandates and peculiarly charged with the duty to observe its spirit and its letter. They should always remember that there is no more sinister sophism than that the end justifies the employment of illegal means to bring offenders to justice. . . . Respect for law, which is the fundamental prerequisite of law observance, hardly can be expected of people in general if the officers charged with the enforcement of the law do not set the example of obedience to its precepts." – *Wickersham Commission,* Lawlessness in Law Enforcement *(1931).*

The story of wiretapping as a weapon of law enforcement goes back to Prohibition – to the now-it-seems-quaint era when bootlegging was our national crime. In 1928 Justice Brandeis reported that "discovery and invention have made it possible for the government, by means far more effective than stretching upon the rack, to obtain disclosure in court of what is whispered in the closet." In his view, moreover, wire-tapping was equivalent to an unlawful search. But Justice Brandeis, Justice Holmes – who called illegal law enforcement "dirty business" – Justice Stone and Justice Butler were one shy of a majority of the Supreme Court, and so the challenge to wiretapping as an *unconstitutional* method of obtaining evidence was unsuccessful.

A decade later, the Supreme Court took another look at the problem and came to the conclusion that Congress had banned the practice which the Framers of the Bill of Rights had failed to anticipate. The Court held that the enactment in 1934 of the Federal Communications Act forbade the disclosure in a federal court of information gained by wiretapping, and therefore required the reversal of convictions supported by such illegal evidence or by evidence to which the police were led in consequence of the initial unlawful interception – "the fruit of the poisonous tree." For Section 605 of the Federal Communications Act emphatically declares that "no person shall intercept any communication and divulge or publish the existence, contents, substance, purport, effect or meaning of such intercepted communication to any person. . . ." Violation of the statutory prohibition is a federal crime, punishable by fine and imprisonment. The Supreme Court felt that to sustain convictions based on the disclosure in testimony of wiretapped communications would have amounted to condoning the commission of a federal crime in a federal court.

Wiretapping by federal officials has, however, continued unabated. In describing the wiretapping conducted by the FBI, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover has stated that the practice is confined to "cases involving espionage, sabotage, grave risks to internal security, or when human lives are in jeopardy." Whether or not this limitation is adhered to, it is hard to escape the conclusion that all the wiretapping engaged in by federal officials is, nevertheless, in blatant defiance of Section 605. The practice is rationalized on the basis of an extremely dubious assertion that, under the statute, interception is not in itself unlawful – that no crime is committed until one undertakes to "intercept *and* . . . divulge" – and on the wholly unsupportable further ground that when one government official reveals an intercepted communication to another government official, he does not "divulge" the communication within the meaning of the statute. Regrettably, the Supreme Court has not had occasion to untangle these elegant subtleties.

The few attempts to prosecute for the federal crime of wiretapping seem to have been directed at unofficial wiretapping – *e.g.*, persons engaged in extortion, or "private ears" who for hire will eavesdrop on a spouse or on a business competitor. So far as is known, no federal prosecutions have been instituted against state police or state prosecutors engaged in wiretapping. They seem to share the same blanket of immunity that

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warms their federal counterparts. Moreover, the limited evidence at hand suggests that state law enforcement officials engage in wiretapping on an even more widespread basis than federal officials. To be sure, many states prohibit wiretapping, and some – of which New York is a conspicuous example – permit wiretapping if, but only if, law enforcement officials persuade a judge (in a judicial proceeding which does not, of course, involve notice to the prospective tappee) that tapping a particular phone is likely to uncover evidence of a crime. The temptation for state police and prosecutors to tap – even when the tapping is illegal under (rarely enforced) provision of local law – seems to be strong: the communications intercepted may facilitate the gathering of other evidence, and some state courts will admit the communications themselves in evidence notwithstanding the taint which local as well as federal law attaches to their interception.

At all events, it is a matter of record – documented in a recent study by Samuel Dash, former District Attorney of Philadelphia – that a great deal of wiretapping is done by law enforcement officers in states where none is authorized, and also that a great deal of official but unauthorized wiretapping is done in states which, like New York, have sought to legitimate the practice when carried on under judicial supervision. Just how much tapping goes on is, almost by definition, unknown. In New York City the police and the several district attorneys acknowledge several hundred authorized wiretaps (each of which may last for several weeks) annually. Mr. Dash estimates that unauthorized wiretaps by law enforcement officers far exceed those which are authorized, bringing the total figure for New York City alone to upwards of 13,000 taps a year.

Wiretapping as a Federal Offense

Viewed from the perspective of Section 605 of the Federal Communications Act, it should be said on behalf of state law enforcement officials that, for several years after the Supreme Court had asserted the illegality of *federal* wiretapping, it was still at least arguable that *state* officials were not covered by the federal statute. Thus, in 1952, the Supreme Court, in sustaining a state robbery conviction, refused to find in Section 605 any Congressional intention to make wiretapped evidence inadmissible in *state* criminal trials. On the other hand, the Court was at pains to make clear in its decision that "the introduction of the intercepted communications would itself be a violation of the statute," though it concluded, rather lamely, that "this is simply an additional factor for a state to consider in formulating a rule of evidence for use in its own courts." Significantly, the Court added: "Enforcement of the statutory prohibition in Section 605 can be achieved under the penal provisions of Section 501" – the provisions prescribing criminal penalties for those convicted of wiretapping.

Still no federal prosecutions of state officials have been forthcoming. Nor is the dearth of prosecutions traceable to any noticeable change in the habits of state law enforcement officers. Thus, in a case which reached the Supreme Court two years ago, a *federal* conviction depended on evidence uncovered by New York City policemen who had tapped pursuant to a New York court order. The Court reversed the federal conviction, and took occasion explicitly to declare the invalidity of the New York statute permitting judicial authorization of wiretaps: "keeping in mind this comprehensive system of interstate regulation and the public policy of Section 605 as part of the scheme, we find that Congress, setting out a prohibition in plain terms, did not mean to allow state legislation which would contradict that section."

Unabashed, New York police, New York prosecutors, and (with certain distinguished exceptions) New York judges have continued to participate in, or at least to facilitate, flagrant and widespread breach of the Congressional mandate – by initiating wiretaps and by sanctioning the disclosure of what has been intercepted as testimony in state criminal trials. And, through the acquiescence of federal prosecutors, this lawlessness goes unpunished.

This past winter, several defendants in two New York criminal cases, having been apprised at or before their trials that wiretapped testimony was to be introduced against them, turned to the federal courts in New York to seek injunctions against the introduction of the testimony. Their requests for the federal judicial intervention culminated last month in the very important and highly perplexing *Pugach* decision, handed down by the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit. It is worth careful study.

The obstacles to securing the requested injunctions were clear: As already noted, the Supreme Court had, in 1952, refused to set aside a state court conviction based on wiretapping. And in a 1951 decision, the Supreme Court had refused to restrain state police from introducing in a state criminal trial evidence obtained as a result of an unconstitutional search. But in one seemingly vital respect these precedents were distinguishable. In the first of these cases the federal crime of divulging the wiretapped communication in court had already taken place when the case reached the Supreme Court. And in the second case the unconstitutional search had already taken place and the anticipated introduction of the evidence in court would not, from a federal point of view, be a further illegal act. By contrast, those seeking injunctions in the *Pugach* case wanted federal judicial protection from federal crimes

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which were about to be perpetrated against them – the disclosure in their state criminal trials of their intercepted telephone conversations.

One further legal difficulty confronts those seeking federal judicial protection against the expected disclosures. Conventionally, English and American courts have been most reluctant, except in labor disputes, to issue injunctions against the commission of a crime. Ordinarily, this reluctance is proper. Those who violate injunctions are guilty of contempt of court, and the procedures for trying contempt are, broadly speaking, geared to achieving swift compliance with judicial decrees and are therefore not overly solicitous of the accused. But where the act of contempt is itself a crime, Anglo-American legal tradition suggests the desirability of surrounding the accused with the elaborate safeguards which normally characterize our criminal justice. To avoid this dilemma, judges seldom issue injunctions whose breach would constitute crime tryable in the ordinary courts. However, this understandable reluctance of courts presupposes that the accused would be criminally prosecuted for his acts. And precisely that presupposition is untenable where – as in wiretapping by law enforcement officials – no attempt is ever made to punish the crime once it has been committed.

The Prosecution of Violators

Nevertheless the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit refused the requested relief: To grant it would have been an unwarranted intrusion on state criminal processes, said Chief Judge J. Edward Lumbard, speaking for himself, Judge Leonard P. Moore and Judge Henry J. Friendly. Judge Sterry R. Waterman concurred: He felt it would be "presumptuous to assume that any New York state trial judge will acquiesce to the commission of a crime against the United States in his presence in his courtroom by a witness testifying under oath."

Only Judge Charles E. Clark dissented. The veteran of more than 20 years on the Second Circuit – who once numbered Learned Hand (now retired), the late Augustus Hand and the late Jerome Frank among his colleagues – spoke with the voice of that court's great days: "In sum, it is beyond dispute that there is a general, indeed universal, custom of federal law violation. Now this is a distressing situation, made not less so that in the eyes of many worthy citizens it is required by the asserted exigencies of successful law administration. But it is not an unusual situation. For actually it is a clash between federal and state governmental policies. As such it is a recurrent struggle in our history and quite possibly a necessary one to a federal form of government. In the past we have found ways of meeting and solving the problem. Of course there are several forms of remedy; but the one to which there seems continual return when other remedies fail is the resort to the equity powers of the federal courts to enjoin repeated violations of the criminal law. . . . I . . . ask (as was asked with respect to Little Rock schools, martial law in the Texas oil fields, and other historic federal-state clashes), When does enough of federal law violation become too much? The facts rehearsed above demonstrate in my opinion that only by the course of federal injunction will the present impasse be resolved."

It is very likely that the *Pugach* decision itself will not come before the Supreme Court, for certain procedural reasons not germane to the present inquiry. If this proves not to be the case – if the Supreme Court were to review and *reverse* the Second Circuit's decision – something salutary would be accomplished. But more is needed than authority to enjoin disclosure of the occasional wiretap *whose existence is known in advance of trial.*

Thus the Congress could gain substantial ground if it were to amend Section 605 so as to invalidate state convictions based on wiretap evidence. But such legislation which would produce howls of anguish from state prosecutors and police, is most unlikely. Conversely, some of the prevalent illegalities of state officials could at least be legitimized if Congress were to amend Section 605, as Congressman Celler and Senator Keating now propose, to permit state officials to engage in the discredited New York practice. But Congress has for years turned an encouragingly deaf ear to proposals to give any statutory blessing to wiretapping.

If the federal statute stays as it is, one can only hope that *federal* law enforcement officers will come to recognize their obligation to comply with the Congressional mandate and to prosecute every person – *public or private* – who continues to violate it. At the same time, perhaps more state judges will follow the lead of Justice Samuel H. Hofstadter of the New York Supreme Court and Judge Irwin D. Davidson of New York's Court of General Sessions who had, even before the Second Circuit's ruling, announced that they would no longer entertain police applications for permission to wiretap. And, since the *Pugach* decision, Nassau County Judge Paul J. Widlitz has refused to permit the introduction of wiretapped testimony in a criminal trial pending before him.

Possibly these three New York judges share that insight into the purposes of the Framers of the Bill of Rights which underlay Brandeis' hostility to wiretapping: "They sought to protect Americans in their beliefs, their thoughts, their emotions and their sensations. They conferred, as against the government, the right to be let alone – the most comprehensive of rights and that most valued by civilized men."

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JOE McCARTHY

His Lost, Last Try for a Headline

I attach no great significance to the occasion when the late Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy decided, out of motives to which I have no certain clue, to take a stand for the libertarian principles which many of us thought he had almost succeeded in destroying.

It happened in 1955 or 1956, after he had passed his peak of power. As far as I know, only one other person beside myself was involved, and no written record of the statement exists. Neither I nor Dion Henderson, an AP staff writer in Milwaukee, can recall the exact language of McCarthy's statement, but our memories of the tenor of the Senator's remarks are the same.

I was a political reporter for the *Milwaukee Journal*, and had been for the entire period of McCarthy's rise to influence. Since the *Journal* had criticized him relentlessly, McCarthy never communicated directly with me. But every so often he sent messages – usually a complaint about the handling of a story – to me through Henderson, whose office adjoined the *Journal* city room.

Henderson was not particularly interested in politics – his field as a writer was conservation – but he was intrigued with McCarthy. He liked him, without either approving or caring much about his political actions, and he wanted to understand him. (He was writing a novel about a politician.) He had long conversations with McCarthy almost every time the Senator visited Milwaukee in the last two or three years of his life.

What they talked about, most of all, was newspapers. McCarthy was obsessed with the subject. He was bitter when, after his attacks inevitably turned against the Eisenhower Administration, he found himself relegated to the back pages. Why, he asked over and over, was the same kind of an attack big news in '50 and nothing much in '55?

One Saturday afternoon, when the Sunday paper was going in, Henderson came to me with a text, part of it in McCarthy's handwriting. Neither Henderson nor I can remember whether this was a speech that McCarthy had given that day to some small group, or just a statement. Henderson told me that McCarthy had been reading Thomas Jefferson regularly for the two previous weeks, and that he had been tremendously impressed. This, McCarthy hinted, was partially responsible for this new approach.

But Henderson also told me that McCarthy had wanted to say whatever the *Milwaukee Journal* would consider most out of character for him; he wondered whether the paper would consider it a story if he espoused the very things he was supposed to have destroyed. Such a statement, he guessed, would be the most sensational news he could make.

What he said in his text was to the effect that the right to dissent, the right to hold unpopular or even subversive opinions, was our most important right; that no man should be persecuted for his beliefs, etc., quoting Jefferson to these points. From almost any other political figure, this would have been routine stuff. From McCarthy, it was either "big" or nothing. It certainly was nothing to be written "straight."

I wrote a story that tried to put it in perspective, to indicate that I did not know whether it meant anything, but that this was what McCarthy had said. I tried to show how it conflicted with McCarthy's previous statements and actions, without being too editorial about it, and left it to the reader to make the judgment. I turned it in to the city desk.

It didn't turn up in the Sunday paper. I really hadn't expected it to be there. I remember feeling annoyed, though, because Henderson had said that McCarthy had offered to bet him that the *Journal* wouldn't use his statement, and I didn't like McCarthy to be proved right on anything about the *Journal*.

I asked about it when I returned to work Monday or Tuesday, but I can't remember finding anyone who knew about the decision against using the story. Henderson said he had written a story which went out on the state wire. He says now that he thinks that two or three state papers used 50 or 100 words on it Monday in a routine story that was a Sunday rewrite of his Saturday piece. None of the papers saw anything unusual in the story, he says.

I think the *Journal's* decision probably was right. It might have been a hoax, a last attempt to exploit the press. McCarthy might have repudiated it. Henderson, however, thinks that McCarthy might have changed the whole direction of his career if the story had been run.

If the story had been printed and noticed, it might have had the effect of showing up McCarthy as what he is now quite generally believed to have been – a reckless cynic who loved excitement and the feel of power, but who stood for nothing in particular. I think it was a last foolish gamble with what was left of his political capital to prove a minor point to himself about the newspapers he hated. It was a gamble that he thought he had won.

EDWIN R. BAYLEY

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O, Dem Golden Sixties

by Ronald Steel

Together with a restive assembly that by this time must number a few million, I am bored with the soaring, zooming, whamming, smashing Sixties. The fact that this decade – surely the most fêted since the one that began in 1910 (and four years later the world plunged into a nightmare from which it has yet to rouse itself) – is young, is of little relevance. Already it has been inflated to invite comparison with Periclean Athens. One can imagine some well-tail-

Markets of the Sixties
by the Editors of *Fortune*
(Harper; $5)

ored scribbler from the Attic press-corps wending his way through the Agora and buttonholing passers-by with predictions of the Tremendous Twenties, as the goat chimes rang in 430 B.C. The first year of that decade saw early optimism about the war with Sparta pass into panic as a plague swept Athens and decimated one-third of the population. The following year brought the death of Pericles, and the declining years of the decade furnished a rich store of sobering thoughts. The Athenians saw pie shimmering over the Acropolis and were sure that good times were in store for them. The cause of the celebration now sweeping our land is that the years, in imitation of some terrestrial slot machine, have spun around and come up with a zero dangling loosely from the end.

This happy occasion has induced the editors of *Fortune* to slap a hard cover on some articles written during that *demodé* year, 1959. For the faint of heart whose mind does not revolve around Markets, the authors are out to show that there is a place for them, too. Economics, in *Fortune*-telling, can be *fun*.

Dedicated to the proposition that life is getting rosier, this volume is "an attempt to combine in one inquiry the best standards of journalism and the most rigorous standards of original economic analysis." Over the threshold of the Sixties is "a new American way of life, yeasty with new Americans." And what are those yeasty new Americans doing? Why, they're busy making more money with less effort than their old-fashioned daddies ever thought of back in the Flaccid Fifties.

Top on the list is a prediction that by 1970 some 45 percent of all American families will have after-tax incomes of more than $7,500. This figure is based on an estimated 1970 Gross National Product – *i.e.*, total value of goods and services – of $750 billion, compared with $480 billion in 1959. This jackpot is held up like a chalice brimming over with credit cards and $100 bills, and *Fortune's* economist-journalists make a good deal of it. But they consistently underplay the forces and even the figures that go into that magic cup.

To begin, this 56 percent jump in the national economy is predicated on an annual economic expansion of 4.2 percent, which in turn rests on a supposition that labor productivity will continue to rise at the post-war average of 3 percent. These levels, though they *can* be achieved, are not necessarily a safe bet if you're prophecying. The economy could well grow at the rate of 4.2 percent during the next decade. During the period from 1947-1953 it grew at the rate of 4.7 annually, though these were years of rapid post-war expansion followed by heavy armaments production during the Korean War and cannot be considered typical. But it would be wiser to use the figures since 1953, which show that the economy has grown only at the rate of 2.3 percent – far from enough to yield the magic $750 billion GNP. The economy *may* grow at twice that rate during the 1960's, even if as much as 80 percent of it continues to be dependent on private rather than public investment – but the chances are that it won't.

Even accepting *Fortune's* 4.2 prognostication, the prickly question of allocation of resources is left floating like a cherubim in a Tiepolo ceiling. *Fortune* says we will have more, more, more. More boats, more TV sets, more sit-down lawnmowers. But it ignores, perhaps not unintentionally, the public sector of the economy. It verbally surrounds us with brighter and gaudier possessions to stuff into our closets and haul to the repair man, but it glosses over the rising demands for better schools and trained teachers, for medical care for the aged (and young alike), for cleaner water, (to drink and float those boats in), for public power, for slum clearance, urban development. What is left out is what Walter Lippmann, the father of the Great Debate, terms "the overriding question of how to pay for the public needs of our growing population in an era when our social order is relentlessly challenged."

Take our schools for example. In 1959 the US devoted 3 percent of its GNP to its educational needs. This came to a rough $15.5 billion. If we maintain this proportion (and the editors give no indication of seeing any reason why it should be increased), this will give us a $19 billion education bill by 1965 (by which time our GNP will have risen by $150 billion and our school-age population will have vastly increased). While the dollar figure rises along with growing national income, the proportion remains the same. It would be wearying to recount that during the year when this nation could afford to squeeze out only 3 percent of its national income for educating its citizens, the Soviet Union, with far fewer resources, managed to devote 10 percent to that purpose; that they have one teacher for every 17 students, while our ratio is one to 27; that between 1946 and 1958 nearly 51 million children were born in this country (a number greater than the entire population in 1880) and that we face the most critical classroom and teacher shortage in our history – to the extent

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that millions of children are getting a swing-shift education in classes of forty or more.

Again, in the area of health the mumbo-jumbo of figures conceals a serious problem that is growing menacingly larger all the time. In 1950, the Twentieth Century Fund estimated that medical care was only two-thirds adequate. In simpler terms, one-third of our people were not receiving adequate medical care. But, say the authors, since then "more than half of this inadequacy has been made good." How? Because our national hospital bill rose from 4.1 percent of GNP in 1948 to 4.8 percent ($21.6 billion) in 1952. The authors equate a rise in medical cost with an improvement in medical care.

Buried behind this unbalanced equation are figures which show that private expenditures for health jumped from $7.7 billion in 1947 to $17.8 billion in 1958. During the same 10-year period hospital payments more than tripled, from $1.4 billion to $4.3 billion; and payments to doctors and dentists doubled from $2.8 billion to $5.6 billion. "The rise in medical expenditures," says *Fortune*, "has financed an improvement in the national health that has been one of the unsung achievements of the postwar." Although the authors fail to elaborate on this contestable conclusion, they add, almost apologetically, that: "Some of the spending rise, to be sure, reflects increased costs of medical and hospital care which have risen twice as fast as consumer prices as a whole." Cold comfort for the one-third of our population which cannot afford adequate medical care.

1960 concludes a decade which has seen the largest growth in our history – a growth equal to the entire population of Spain. At this rate we will double our population within the next 40 years. But this population explosion – largely in our metropolitan areas – has not been matched by public programs. Fifteen million Americans still live in substandard housing, according to the Bureau of the Census. Nearly five million urban homes lack plumbing of any kind, and seven million homes need to be replaced. Urban development plans a decade old are still uncompleted. Funds for public housing are dribbled out as though they were a foul-smelling medicine to be used only for patients on the verge of death. Our public transportation system has been allowed to deteriorate to the point where it does no justice to a great industrialized nation.

But at least we're having a good time. The figures in what *Fortune* labels the "fun market" prove it. During 1959, when Americans rang up an after-tax income of $336 billion, the "fun market" swallowed up $41 billion on expenditures for all types of pleasurable, leisure-time activities. Department of Commerce figures yield a recreation and foreign travel total of $16 billion, but this doesn't include such fun-time spending as pleasure travel, domestic vacations, alcohol, TV sets, etc. – all of which push the figure up to a rough $41 billion. How does this compare with less fun-provoking expenditures? In 1958, when we channeled roughly $15 billion into education, we managed to lay down $9 billion on alcohol.

No cause to worry, says *Fortune*. The proportion of our income spent on the "fun market" has remained at a steady 12.3 percent since 1953. Although the percentages may stay the same, the Soaring Sixties will see new ways for spending our money. Edgy symbol-collectors may be unnerved to learn that they will be judged not only by whether they drive a Buick or a Renault Caravelle, but whether they bake their hides at now-plebeian Cannes or make a beeline over to Giglio. "In an age when millions can travel abroad," the authors say condescendingly, "the difference between a three-week economy trip to London-Paris-Rome and a six-week trip taking in Athens and Istanbul is not just the difference in cost, but also in sophistication of the itinerary." Three-week clods, beware.

Ultimately, as academic types have a way of saying, what does all this affluence – this $750 billion GNP, this $7,500 after-tax income by 1970 for 45 percent of US families – mean? What's the Big Picture? With one eye cocked toward the Stupendous Seventies, and the other firmly fixed on the Soaring Sixties, *Fortune* raises its steady glance to the Higher Purpose and decides that somewhere, smothering under all these figures, like the thin man inside the fat man, is a Transcendent Meaning. Wrapping it all up, the authors earnestly note: "Even the much-discussed 'religious revival' may be related in some degree to America's material triumphs. For there is nothing quite like material satisfaction for convincing people that material satisfaction is not enough." Every yeasty American will be glad to hear it.

Problems of Disposal

Again and again up there the apothecaries combining
ingredients repeat their reciprocal series
of experiments: shaking loose on the dance floor, or at the community

pool the combinations of futures: soft looks, the connubial
expression in the eyes: it means squeeze, germination, cramming
the lovely confusion till there's no room no room. Presently

room's made in a hotter kind of chemistry: holocausts
happen in hate: messes occur: red collisions, whenas
it becomes compulsive to sponge and wipe up certain congestions

on the bleeding globe. So 1914 1939 19when?
Captivate and create, undo, clean up, and begin it
again. But if upstairs the apothecaries, bugging

their abominable eyes over the crucible, become
aware that material has eaten its own tissue, no more
combinations will ensue? One only surmises that, learning

nothing, they will pick up the apparatus and try it all again, elsewhere.

RICHMOND LATTIMORE

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How the Libraries Censor Books

by Raymond Stringer

Toward the close of 1959, the University of California Press released a Fund for the Republic study entitled *Book Selection and Censorship; A Study of School and Public Libraries in California,* by Marjorie Fiske. The book has not received the public attention it deserves, perhaps because public libraries are a peripheral source of reading materials for American adults (all surveys show that the largest percentage of users of the public library are children and older students). What is interesting, however, is that within the library profession itself, the study has not set off any deep soul-searching.

Book Selection and Censorship
by Marjorie Fiske
(California; $3.75)

And "soul-searching" would be the appropriate response to the dismal findings of a volume which "reveals" that while librarians are indeed subject to outside pressures in selecting books for the institutions they serve, they *far more frequently* subject themselves to censorship in order to avoid any *possible* troubles. Miss Fiske's findings hardly constitute a revelation to the experienced librarian. What every professional librarian knows from his own experience (and it is an experience that he often declines to discuss even with his closest colleagues because of embarrassment or trepidation) now turns out to be commonplace.

Assisted by a staff of field workers, Miss Fiske interviewed 204 school and public librarians, in 26 California communities. Statistics and interview schedules, mercifully relegated to the book's appendix, were checked by University of California sociologists and library professors. The main body of the work concerns the theory and practice of book selection, the community environment within which the selection takes place, and the action and reaction between complainants and librarians in the matter of controversial books. As the battleground of two of the most notable recent encounters between libraries and censors, California was the happiest possible choice for such a study, for there the effects of censorship were thrown into boldest relief.

Rather than summarize Miss Fiske's book, which should be required reading for everyone concerned with civil liberties, I want to relate her observations to my own experience as an employee of a large municipal public library. Many of the "problem" books it has rejected for purchase have been poor in character. Thus, many rejections have seemed to stem from the library's concern for decent literary standards. However, the real reason for most of these rejections has been plain fear. A typical instance was the library's decision not to buy *Peyton Place.* The book is unquestionably a commercial exploitation of sex, dully naturalistic and trivial. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to assume that literary inadequacy or commercialism were the actual reasons for its rejection. It could be shown that literally hundreds of other volumes as dull, tasteless, trivial, and brazenly commercial in their exploitation of other phenomena, *e.g.,* violence, *were* approved for purchase. Our library buys Westerns and mysteries, devoid of even a pretense to quality. The official excuse is that as a tax-supported institution the library must meet the large public demand for these materials. However, I can say from firsthand experience that the demand for *Peyton Place* was far greater than for any single mystery or Western.

It is possible to make light of this because censorship by libraries is not total censorship, *i.e.,* the reader could always have bought *Peyton Place* at any bookstore. But not every book rejected by the library out of fear is as easily or cheaply obtainable through commercial outlets as was *Payton Place;* a case in point was the highly expensive Kinsey reports which were not bought by some libraries, or were bought in limited numbers, or placed on closed shelves. Budgetary and space limitations make it impossible for every library to purchase every book, but the whole point in book selection as opposed to censorship is that the reason for not buying the book ought to be a legitimate one; that is, one may reject a book either because it is lacking in quality or because there is not likely to be any public demand for it.

Another *cause célèbre* was *Lolita.* Here the library could not avoid purchasing the book on the ground of its literary inferiority. Nor could lack of public interest be adduced. If there was to be a rejection, then, it had to be on the basis of "sex." Fortunately, the professional library staff, particularly the younger people in non-administrative positions, was so incensed by rumors of a possible rejection of *Lolita* that the administration, fearing repercussions on staff morale, backed water and emerged with a truly "courageous" decision: buy the book, but keep it on the closed shelves.

The closed-shelf system is a God-send to librarians, for it enables them to be circumspect (because they keep the hot stuff under control), liberal because they are daring enough to purchase it at all. Yet it constitutes a fairly effective restriction on the principle of freedom to read. For example: our library chose to keep the (original) Kinsey report "under the counter," to be issued to patrons only on demand. The typical patron

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looks up the book in the card catalog, jots down the call number, and searches the open shelves for the volume. He does not find it and, probably in most cases, assumes it is not in. Some patrons repeating this experience several times over a period of as many weeks or months, finally think to ask for the book. Others do not, or forget about the book, or lose interest, or become discouraged, or are too embarrassed to ask the "nice old lady" at the loan desk about a sex book (or if the case involves a female patron and a male library assistant, the former may be too embarrassed to ask the latter for a book on pregnancy, which may also be kept "under the counter").

What is the terrible pressure which causes librarians to reject, hide, and occasionally even destroy books because of their subject-matter or point of view? Pre-eminently, it is the fear that a teenager will get hold of a "sex book" and that the *parent* will write a letter of denunciation to the library administration, board of trustees or, worst of all, the newspapers. Although the inference that a book dealing frankly with sex *causes* sexual immorality is unwarranted and most librarians know it, few are eager to explain that to the public.

Librarians, as a group, are more than usually liberal in their general outlook. But they tend to be timid. By refraining from the purchase of books which might offend some groups, they in effect place such groups above criticism and hence beyond democratic control. Precisely *which* group is above criticism in a library or branch of a library may depend on the religious or racial composition of the community in which the institution is located. Thus, within one municipal library system, Branch A, located in a predominantly Catholic area may not purchase Alvah Sulloway's *Birth Control and the Catholic Church*. On the other hand, Branch B, which did buy the Sulloway book and is located in a primarily Negro neighborhood, "just happened" not to have bought Franklin Frazier's *Black Bourgeosie*, or "happened" to have found itself with only enough money to buy one copy. Finally, Branch C, located in an upper middle class "restricted" Protestant section of the city might have bought both of the above-mentioned books (which *can* be used by anti-Catholics or anti-Negroes to support their prejudices, just as any book can be so used by unprincipled individuals who put their mind to it), but carefully avoided buying a novel on racial intermarriage such as Fred Bodsworth's *The Strange One*.

It is curious that the American library profession which publishes perhaps a score of journals has never seen fit to keep a public and continuing "box-score" of its own buying practices in the matter or controversial books. Such a a record might let librarians in one city know what their colleagues in another city are doing about a given book; more important, it would alert the citizenry in all areas to censorship by their municipal and county libraries. To be sure such a record could be used by censors for their own purposes, but this is, I believe, a risk that should be taken and is, in any case, preferable to the present obscurity and lack of public accountability in library book selection.

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The Chief Apostle of Darwinism

by Gertrude Himmelfarb

Like other scientific theories, Darwinism has a mythological dimension as well as a scientific one. It has its legend of discovery (the Voyage of the Beagle), its ritualistic formulas parading as scientific method (Darwin: "I worked on true Baconian principles and without any theory collected facts on a wholesale scale"), its apocalyptic visions of the struggle between the children of light and the children of darkness (epitomized by the famous encounter between Huxley and Bishop Wilberforce), its conversions and confessions, its saints and apostles. Conspicuously lacking, however, are martyrs; and without them no mythology is complete.

T. H. Huxley, sensible of this lack, sought to unite in himself the roles of chief apostle and chief martyr. He declared himself ready "to go to the stake" for the *Origin of Species;* he announced that the issue was a "burning" one and that he himself expected to get severely burnt for the cause; he was certain that had a general council of the Church Scientific been held at the time, he and Darwin would have been overwhelmingly condemned. Yet, fond as he was of the religious analogy, and fonder yet of playing the part of the heretic, his sense of humor – and of reality – was too intrusive to allow him to indulge himself for very long in fantasies of self-sacrifice. For the most part, he was as confident in temper as he was combative.

T. H. Huxley:
Scientist, Humanist and Educator
by Cyril Bibby
(Horizon; $5)

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He felt as assured of victory in his own time as had the early Christians in theirs. Reviewing the *Origin* soon after its publication, he predicted the outcome of the controversy: "Extinguished theologians lie about the cradle of every science as the strangled snakes beside that of Hercules; and history records that whenever science and orthodoxy have been fairly opposed, the latter has been forced to retire from the list, bleeding and crushed if not annihilated; scotched, if not slain."

Yet not even Huxley, still less Darwin, could have foreseen how astonishingly quick and complete would be their victory, how totally lacking the occasions for martyrdom. Even before the year had passed, one astute Darwinian was finding cause to worry that "there will be before long a great revulsion in favor of Darwin to match the senseless row that is now being raised, and as many converts on no principle will fall in, as there are now antagonists on no principle." It took less than half a dozen years for the theory of Natural Selection to traverse the three stages that are said to characterize the progress of all new theories: the first, in which it was declared to be absurd; the second, in which it was declared to be heretical; and the third, in which it was found to be obvious. By 1866 Huxley was writing to Darwin: "You will have the rare happiness to see your ideas triumphant during your lifetime. I am preparing to go into opposition; I can't stand it."

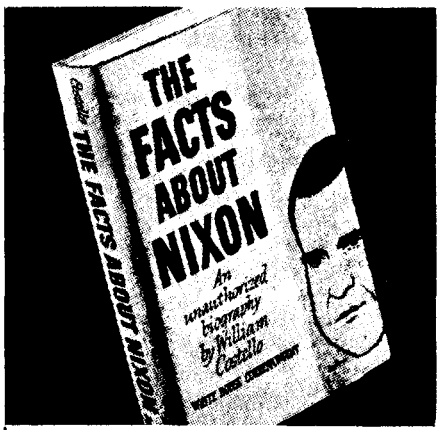
Very little of this, of a heresy turned orthodoxy, is to be found in this most recent biography of T. H. Huxley. What is to be found, however, is the history of a fascinating career: the career of a man born in poverty, resentful of authority, dedicated to heresy and controversy, who early finds himself to be a huge success. It is the story of an Angry Young Man who is incorporated into the Establishment before he has had a chance to expend either his youth or his anger. It is also the story of an Establishment that is only too ready to reward talent, so secure that it has no fears and holds no grudges.

Huxley is often cited (together with H. G. Wells) as the exemplar of the self-educated, self-willed man who managed to make his way by dint of great sacrifice and perseverance. But this was, in fact, as little true of Huxley as of Wells. By the age of thirty, Wells was earning over a thousand pounds a year, an exceedingly handsome income in those days. At the same age, Huxley had been offered the same sum to fill the chair of Natural History at the University of Edinburgh, and although he turned it down for a less remunerative post in London, he too was soon comfortably settled. Nor did Huxley (again like Wells) take this to be anything more than his right. Beginning his career as an Assistant-Surgeon in the Royal Navy, he spent four years on HMS *Rattlesnake* doing research and writing papers on natural history. When he returned from the voyage, he was given three years' leave of absence, on full pay, to continue his private researches, and then was indignant when the Admiralty refused to finance the publication of his work. Elected a Fellow of the Royal Society at the age of 26, he was soon deluged with jobs and honors: fellowships, prizes and degrees, professorships and lectureships, journals vying for his contributions, membership on Royal commissions, appointments to the governing bodies of colleges, universities, school-boards and museums, masterships, rectorships and deanships. . . . And what he could not accomplish himself in the way of determining educational and scientific policy, he accomplished by maneuvering friends into critical positions and acquiring for them the coveted awards or offices. It is no wonder that his opponents felt persecuted, as if they were the victims of a concerted conspiracy.

In this book for the first time, the details and progress of Huxley's career have been sharply delineated. This has been done largely by ignoring his ideas and the controversies they provoked. Yet only by reference to those ideas can we appreciate the full measure of Huxley's success. For it was as the champion of the Darwinian heresy that he was the most widely known, it was partly in aid of that heresy that he used his power, and it was as the chief apostle of that heresy that he was welcomed into the Establishment. Englishmen today, alternately irritated by the Angry Young Men who persist in being angry even while enjoying their success, and by the Establishment which persists in feeding the hand that bites it, may take comfort in the thought that this has always been the way with angry young men and wise old establishments.

Notes on Contributors

Ronald Steel, *who makes his first* New Republic *appearance with this issue, works as a free-lance writer on political economy.* Richmond Lattimore *is equally eminent as a poet and as an editor-translator of the Greek classics; he teaches at Bryn Mawr.* Raymond Stringer *is an administrator in a large library system; he writes under a pseudonym because his employers insist on clearance before publication.* Gertrude Himmelfarb *is the author of an authoritative biography of Charles Darwin.*



Required Reading Before the Election

Viking Press has recently published William Costello's *The Facts About Nixon*, expanded from his articles which appeared in *The New Republic*. The 306-page book sells at retail for $3.95. However, it is available to *New Republic* readers at a 25 percent discount, or $2.95. You may place your order now. Simply send your name and address, with payment, to:

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MOVIES

Two Imports from Africa

Two films come to us that were made recently in Africa. The first, *Masters of the Congo Jungle*, is a fascinating color travelogue produced by Belgians in the eastern portion of the Belgian Congo. A theme is adduced – the relationship between the mores of a certain tribe and the jungle life around it; and the animistic note is somewhat labored in the commentary (spoken by Orson Welles and William Warfield). But the body of the film, the pictures of birds and beasts,

Masters of the Congo Jungle
(20th Century-Fox)
Come Back, Africa
(Rogosin)

is superb. The parenthetically leaping gazelles and the flap-eared elephants are present, as expected, but there are dozens of others; and even the most familiar are shown in unusual sequences that must have required enormous patience and skill in the photographers. The color is good and the sense of teeming life is well conveyed. Incidentally, it is a fine film for children.

Come Back, Africa, a film by Lionel Rogosin, a young American, is in effect a work of espionage. It was made in and around Johannesburg under false pretences. We are told that Rogosin obtained necessary permits by pretending that he was making a musical travelogue when he was in fact making a quasi-dramatized documentary about the status and hopes of the Bantu. We are told, too, that the whole story was kept from the actors; they improvised their lines, scene by scene, without knowing what the finally assembled film would import. (One wonders, however, what some of the white actors thought when they were asked to put on police uniforms – obtained how? – and enact a raid, then make advances on a Bantu woman. Could they have thought this part of a musical travelogue? Or when they were asked to vilify and humiliate Bantu job seekers? Surely Rogosin must have enlisted some people sympathetic to his purpose, who may now – white and black – possibly be in jeopardy?)

At any rate the Verwoerd government cannot be happy about this film. It tells a symbolically typical story. A Zulu named Zachariah is forced by famine to leave his wife and family and go to Johannesburg for work; he holds a succession of jobs, as gold-miner, domestic, garage helper, waiter, road laborer. At last his wife and small son join him in his slum shanty. When his wife wants to get a job as a maid, Zachariah protests because she will be required to live on the premises and he will not be permitted to visit her. Nevertheless she takes a job, and when he spends the night with her, the police break in and arrest him for trespassing. While he is in prison, a deranged Bantu tough, with whom Zachariah has previously quarreled, attacks and murders his wife. The film ends with Zachariah's impotent grief and (increasingly potent) rage.

All the parts are played by "people," not actors; thus the fictional elements are clumsy and somewhat distractive from Rogosin's purpose, although there are some fascinating scenes in "shebeens" (illegal drinking places – liquor is forbidden to Bantus) where Rogosin set up camera and microphone and recorded conversations. But the picture's power, which is substantial, derives from its cumulative view of the world in which it was made. There is no news value in it; we know the facts. It has the value of word-made-flesh.

Rogosin has not tried to portray all Bantus as noble sufferers nor are the whites uniformly villainous. You feel that he has made a relatively balanced effort to show what is. I don't mean that he tries to show the Boers' side, for they have no side. As Dwight Macdonald has said, there is no Negro question; the Negroes are right. But Rogosin has shown some of the emotional and economic realities that pertain.

There are two besetting pitfalls of vanity for the spectator of such a film as this. The first is to think that, by seeing it, he has "done" something about the problem. (How we flocked to *The Spanish Earth* in 1937 and left cozily convinced that, by being vicariously harrowed for 90 minutes, we had done our part to "stop Fascism.") The second might be called Moral Elevation by Geographical Accident. One is tempted to feel that there is something congenitally inferior in the moral equipment of the Boer, the white Mississippian, the Algerian *colon*. It is a dangerous delusion. It is not a proof of innate virtue to have been born in a place free of other regions' prejudices. Am I sure that my opinions in this matter would be the same if my grandfather had emigrated to Johannesburg or Biloxi or Algiers instead of to New York? The answer introduces a little appropriate humility.

Additionally, the film reminds us that education for the underprivileged Bantu is only part of the future in South Africa. A further problem – smaller in size but much more difficult – is the re-education of the whites. Teaching a Zulu to use an IBM machine is simple compared with ridding a Boer of his prejudices. The case of the African Negro is not tragic; the eventual triumph of his cause is as certain as his present agony is real. The tragedy is that of the white African, maimed with fear, striking out with obscene, useless, brutal attempts to stem the future. It is he who will have to be helped long after the Bantu "question" is answered. STANLEY KAUFFMANN

Correspondence

The New Republic *welcomes communications in regard to subject of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.*

Chessman

Sirs:

Caryl Chessman is dead, which resolves all questions for him, but the remainder of humanity vaccilates in a quandary, where it always has been when a legal execution occurs. One can ask a hundred questions about the *pros* and *cons* of capital punishment, but the answers are and always will be much the same as they ever have been. Who profited and in what ways? It is very hard to be

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specific in pointing out possible net social gains. I see none.

Obviously, society is squeamish about the death penalty. Otherwise, the condemned would not be allowed to rot a dozen years in jails while attorneys and courts ply verbal technicalities.

Many competent authorities claim that opposition to death penalties reflects a softening of both brain and bone cells in societies, which I do not concede. The real debilitation occurs when such societies cannot determine what comprises constructive approaches to criminal problems, whether the offense be one of simple theft or a compound kidnaping-rape-murder count involving the crossing of county and state boundaries. In my judgment, no single penalty either equally punishes or adequately rehabilitates all criminals any more than a flat four years in college equally educates all who survive it. The extinction of life destroys all hope of restoration to both society and the condemned. Let us abolish it outright and proceed to rebuild our penal codes in terms of values we can defend on a basis of evidence.

Otis Durant Duncan
Oklahoma State University
Stillwater, Oklahoma

The Old, Ideal Harvard Man

Sirs:

In "The New, Ideal Harvard Man" (May 2) your contributor Christopher Jencks writes: "In the years before Pearl Harbor, Harvard students were selected largely by social and economic standards," and "if your father had been to Harvard you were virtually assured of admission." Nowhere does he mention that every applicant, whether rich or poor, had to pass first of all the Harvard Entrance Examinations, which even by present-day standards were quite stiff.

While about one-half of the present undergraduates receive some form of economic support, the scholarships available in my day were much more than a "handful." Some of the endowment funds are quite old. And neither is it true that the "average applicant had to spend at least a couple of years of private schooling." The average family could not afford it, and the few sons of the rich who could were often social climbers who wanted to make connections so as to be elected to certain Gold Coast clubs. But in the long run that, too, depended on their personal achievements and qualifications.

And if Harvard was such a concentration of spoonfed dandies as Mr. Jencks makes out, how could so many have made *Who's Who*? And if he thinks that was due to their "social standing," he must confuse *Who's Who* with *The Social Register*.

And speaking of "the veneer of culture required to maintain a Gentleman's C," as Mr. Jencks does, I have known many C men who in genuine culture excelled the majority of the A and B toilers. The reason is not far to seek. It all depends on what you work for. Franklin D. Roosevelt did not need a scholarship, and his editorship of the *Crimson* helped him more in his political career than any number of high marks in dry-as-dust courses would have done. He was a born journalist, and the fact that he completed the four year course in three shows he could have won academic honors had he wanted them.

The Harvard ideal has always been to do well whatever you undertake. The point was stressed by one of the House Masters in an address a few years ago before the Cape Cod Harvard Club. He had been about to dismiss a gifted wastrel, he said, but had finally told him: "If you can prove to me that you can do any one thing well, whether it is in scholarship, running a camp, sailing a boat, carving wood or playing tennis, I'll give you one more chance. But if not, out you go."

Naboth Hedin
West Dennis, Mass.

Alsop's Logic

Sirs:

Joseph Alsop's reasoning "Bigotry in West Virginia," May 2) is delightful:

(1) He blames Senator Humphrey for being the beneficiary of the support of West Virginia's Sen. Robert Byrd, a former member of the Ku Klux Klan.

(2) He denies that he favors Senator Kennedy, insisting that his choice among the Democratic candidates is Senator Johnson.

(3) But Senator Byrd is not for Senator Humphrey; he is passionately for Senator Johnson.

Violet Gunther
Washington, D. C.

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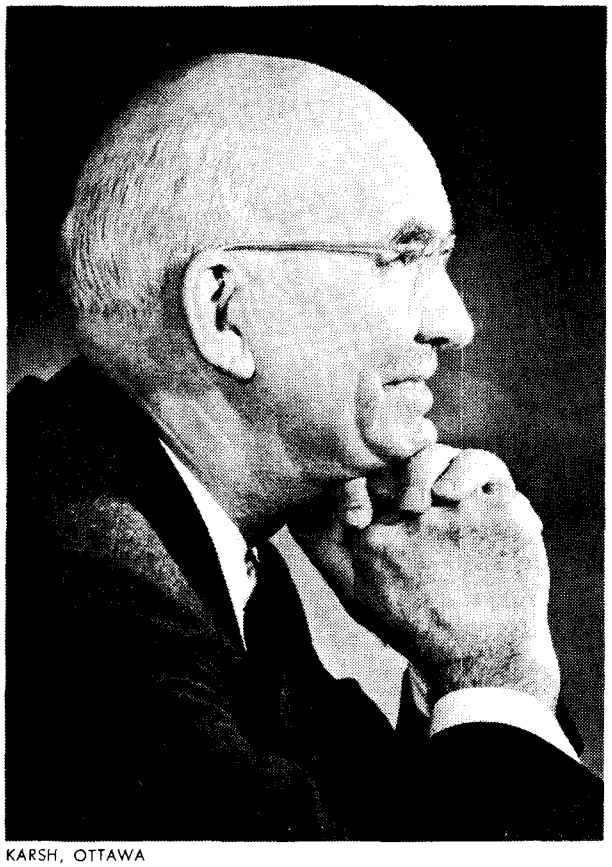

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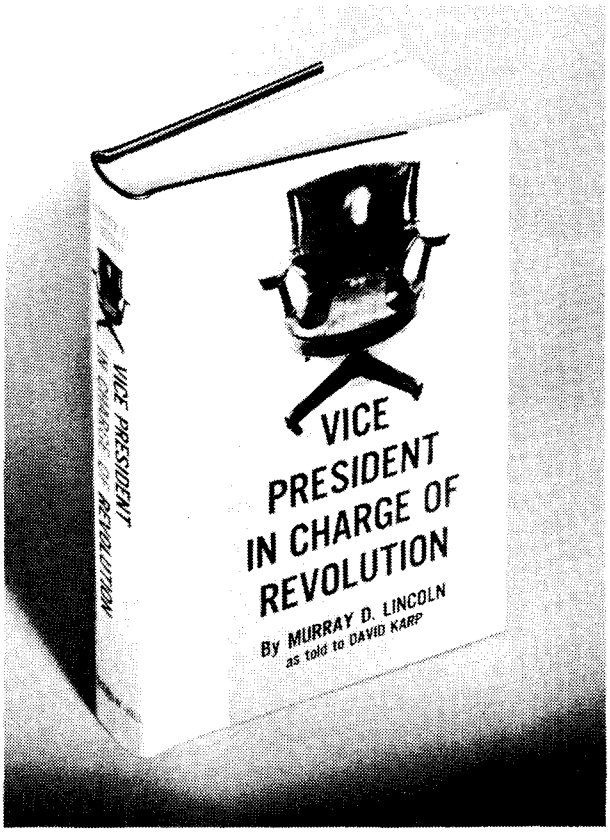

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